

الديمقراطية في الفكر العربي المعاصر

إعداد

محمد إبراهيم العساف

المشرف

الأستاذ الدكتور سلمان سلمان البدور

قدّمت هذه الأطروحة استكمالاً لمتطلبات الحصول على درجة الدكتوراه في

الفلسفة

تعتمد كلية الدراسات العليا
هذه النسخة من الرسالة
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كلية الدراسات العليا

الجامعة الأردنية

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






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هذه النسخة من الرسالة
التوقيع  التاريخ 2011/12/27

الجامعة الأردنية

نموذج التفويض

أنا الطالب محمد إبراهيم صالح العفلة ، أفوض
الجامعة الأردنية بتزويد نسخ من رسالتي/أطروحتي للمكتبات أو المؤسسات أو
الهيئات الأشخاص عن طلبها.



التوقيع

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid , p 33

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⁽³⁾ *Ibid* p90

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⁽⁴⁾Kubba, Laith (2003), *The Awakening of Civil Society*, in: Daniel Brumberg and Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (editors), **Islam and Democracy in The Middle East**, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University press and London: The National Endowment for Democracy, p32.

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⁽⁶⁾Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, p 250

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⁽²⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy*, p 75

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⁽⁵⁾ Hawthorne, Amy (2005), *Is Civil Society The Answer?*, p 88

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, 586.v.1

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 178
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⁽²⁾ Ringen, Stein (2005), Liberty, Freedom and Real Freedom, **Society**, March/April, p 37

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 38

⁽²⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), Liberation Technology, **Journal of Democracy** 21(3), p 70.

⁽³⁾ Ringen, Stein (2005), Liberty, Freedom and Real Freedom, p 39

⁽⁴⁾ Dahl, Robert A., (1970), **Modern Political Analysis**, p 39

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⁽⁴⁾ Rawls, John (1971), *A Theory of Justice*, p 202, 203

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid , p204
⁽²⁾ Ibid , p205
⁽³⁾ Ibid , p216
⁽⁴⁾ Ibid , p219
⁽⁵⁾ Ibid , p220

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..(a leveling one)

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⁽²⁾ Diamond, Larry (2010), Why Are There No Arab Democracies?, p 94

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 95

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 96

⁽⁵⁾ Sartori, Giovanni (1976), **Democratic Theory**, USA: Greenwood Press, p 96

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⁽¹⁾Ibid, p 115

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⁽³⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, Translated by: Ashur A. Shams, USA, London: West View Press, p. 69.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid P 70

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid P 86

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid P 92

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid P 93

⁽⁸⁾ Ibid P 103

⁽⁹⁾ Baldwin, James Mark (1960), **Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology**, V1, p 337

⁽¹⁰⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 62, 63

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(1) Dahl, Robert A., (1970), **Modern Political Analysis**, p 37

(2) Ibid, P, 38, 39

(3) Ibid, p 52

(4) Ibid, p 73

(5) Dahl, Robert A. (2006), **On Political Equality**, New Haven and London, USA: Yale University Press, p 9

(anchored)

" (ephemeral)

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(1) Ibid , p 48
 (2) Ibid , p 49
 (3) Ibid , p 50
 (4) Ibid , p 51
 (5) Ibid 63
 (6) Ibid ,p 67
 (7) Ibid ,p 71
 (8) Ibid ,p 73,74

(upward mobility)

...(stratified)

(ominous possibility)

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(Robert Dahl)

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(Robert Dahl)

(stimulate)

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(Instrumental reason)

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 85, 86

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 88

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 90

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 107

⁽⁵⁾ Padover, Saul K., (1965), *The Meaning of Democracy: An Appraisal of the American Experience*, p 66

(Robert Dahl)

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(2) Sartori, Giovanni (1976), **Democratic Theory**, p, 336

(3) Ibid , p 344

(4) Ibid , p 345, 346

(5) Ibid , p 348

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..the automatism of freedom

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⁽²⁾ Sartori, Giovanni (1976), **Democratic Theory**, 327

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 337

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 338

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 340

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 348

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(Robert Dahl)

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(7) Heywood, Andrew (2002), **Politics**, 2nd ed., London: Palgrave Macmillan, p 414-415.

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⁽⁴⁾ Heywood, Andrew (2002), *Politics*, p 415.

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⁽⁷⁾ Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1997), Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres, p511

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(1) Ibid, p 512
 (2) Ibid, p 514, 515
 (3) Ibid, p 516
 (4) Ibid, p 518, 519
 (5) Ibid, p 522

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(Joseph A. schumpeter)

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⁽⁴⁾Zompetti J. P. (2006), *The Role of Advocacy in Civil Society*, p 168

⁽⁵⁾Ibid, p 174

⁽⁶⁾Ibid, p 176

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⁽¹⁾Ibid, p 178

⁽²⁾Ibid, p 179

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(Charles Taylor)

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(1) Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1997), Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres, p 510

(2) Hanagan, Micheal (1997), Recasting Citizenship: Introduction, **Theory and Society**, 25: p 400

(3) Ibid, p 401

(4) Ibid, p 402

(5) GolMohammad, Muna (2004), World Citizenship, Identity and The Notion Of An Integrated Self, **Studies in Philosophy and Education** 23: p 131

(6) Ibid, p 132

(7) Ibid, p 135

(8) Ibid, p 136

(9) Ibid, p 137

" (webs of interlocution)

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⁽¹⁾Ibid, p 138
⁽²⁾Ibid, p 139
⁽³⁾Ibid, p 140, 141
⁽⁴⁾Ibid, p 143
⁽⁵⁾Ibid, p 144

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(4) <Http: //www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1581 >Archbishop's Lecture – Civil and Religious Law in England: a religious perspective, p 1
 (5) Ibid, p 5
 (6) Ibid, p 12

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⁽¹⁾Ibid, p 15

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³Kurzman, Charles and Naqvi, Ijlal (2010), Do Muslims Vote Islamic?, *Journal of Democracy* 21(2), p 61

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⁽³⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p. 103.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p. 120.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p. 121.

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⁽⁵⁾ Mullins, Nicholas C. (1971), **The Art of Theory: Construction and Use**, New York: Harper and Raw Publishers, Inc, p 27

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 28

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⁽³⁾"(elite dominance)

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⁽¹⁾Ibid , p 56

⁽²⁾Ibid , p 66

⁽³⁾Ferree, Myra, et.al. (2002), Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies, **Theory and Society**, (31), p 291

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(6)(patron)

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⁽²⁾ Powell, G. Bingham (1982), **Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence**. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, p, 74

61

(2007)

(s)

⁽⁴⁾ Powell, G. Bingham (1982), **Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence**, p 75

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 78

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 86

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid , p 87

⁽²⁾ Ibid , p 89-92

⁽³⁾ Ibid , p 105

55 54

⁽⁵⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 148

⁽⁶⁾ Thorsan, Thomas Landon (1962), **The Logic of Democracy**, p 17

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33	(i)
(2007)	(b)
320	(c)
321	(d)

⁽⁵⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 282

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(hostile)

(6)(Hard-core)

(7)(impeccable)

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 286

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 287

⁽³⁾ Arat, Yesim (2005), **Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics**. Albany: State University of New York Press., p 41

⁽⁴⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 208

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 298

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 299

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid, p 300

⁽⁸⁾ Ibid, p 308

⁽⁹⁾ Ibid, p 309

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⁽¹⁾ Arat, Yesim (2005), *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics*, p 112

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 113

129

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⁽⁴⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, p 148

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(loopholes)

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pluralistic)

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(vision

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(i)

⁽²⁾ Brumberg, Daniel (2003), The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy, p 36

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 40

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 43

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⁽⁶⁾ Brumberg, Daniel (2003), The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy, p 46

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251	250	(i)
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258		(c)
263		(d)

⁽⁵⁾ Sorensen, George (1998), **Democracy and Democratization, Processes and Prospects in a Changing World**, 2nd ed., USA: WestviewPress, p 25

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16 : 1 (1994) (i)
 (b) Arat, Yesim (2005), **Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics**, p 115
 .99 : (2001) (s)
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^(b) Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 155

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(attitudes)

(generational change)

(irreversible)

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(opinion change)

⁽¹⁾ Huntington, Samuel P. (1993), **The Third Wave in the Late Twentieth Century**, p 258

⁽²⁾ Ibid , p 259, 260

⁽³⁾ Ibid , p 262, 263

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid , p 265

(overlapping consensus)

(latent)

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⁶Powell, G. Bingham (1982), *Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence*, p.54

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(as it does) (perform)

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(John Stuart mill)

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⁽¹⁾Ibid, p 66, 67
⁽²⁾Ibid, p 73

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(2) Murphy, Robert F. (1972), *The Dialectics of Social Life, Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory*, 1st ed., London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, p 57

(3) *Ibid*, p 149

(4) *Ibid*, p 185

(5) *Ibid*, p 185

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(Deliberative Democracy)

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192	(8)

⁽⁴⁾Hawthorne, Amy (2005), *Is Civil Society The Answer?*, p 112
.189 188

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⁽¹⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p. 92-93.

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⁽²⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, NB New Haven and London: Yale University Press p 124, 125, 126.

⁽³⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 21.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 165

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 304.

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 307

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(Joseph Schumpeter)

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(conjecture)

(popishness)

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⁽¹⁾ Zafar, S. M. (1998), Accountability, Parliament, and Ijtihad, in: Charles Kurzman (editor), **Liberal Islam**, A Sourcebook, New York: Oxford, Oxford University Press Inc, p 71.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p72.

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⁽³⁾ Rawls, John (1971), *A Theory of Justice*, p 235, 236, 237.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p 239

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p 241.

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⁽⁵⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), *On Democracy*, p 125

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⁽²⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, p 65

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(lobbying organizations)

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(country)

(inevitable)

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(deliberation)

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(cyberspace)

(liberation technology)

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(cybercafés)

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the democratization of

communication

⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 67

⁽²⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 86

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 98

⁽⁴⁾ Hughes, Ray Osgeed (1965), **Building Citizenship**, revised by James H. M., Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc, p 13.

⁽⁵⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), *Liberation Technology*, p 74,

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 75

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cloud computing and)

(software

(governed)

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...(the global commons of information)

(carve up)

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”(control)

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”(liberation)

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-(securitization)

(1) Deibert, Ronald and Rohozinski, Rafal (2010), Liberation VS. Control: The Future Of Cyberspace, **Journal of Democracy**, 21 (4),

p43

(2) Ibid, 44

(3) Ibid, 45

(4) Ibid, 46.

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 49, 50

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⁽⁵⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p 69

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 70.
⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 92, 93.
⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 121.
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(Soul K. Padover)

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.(indivisible)

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⁽²⁾ Padover, Saul K., (1965), **The Meaning of Democracy: An Appraisal of the American Experience**, p 123.

135 (359) 31

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⁽⁴⁾ Padover, Saul K., (1965), **The Meaning of Democracy: An Appraisal of the American Experience**, p. 136.

⁽⁵⁾ Thorsan, Thomas Landon (1962), **The Logic of Democracy**, p 9.

(empirically)

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(instrumental)

⁽¹⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 49.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid*, p 85, 86

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 96, 97

.64 63

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214 (367) 32

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⁽⁷⁾ Hughes, Ray Osgeed (1965), **Building Citizenship**, p 13.

⁽⁸⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 51

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(civility)

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⁽⁴⁾ Ferree, Myra, et.al. (2002), Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies, p, 294

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" (Ron Haleber)

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(constructionist theory) "

(Michel Foucault)

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⁽⁷⁾ Ferree, Myra, et.al. (2002), Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies, p 307.

(woven)

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(narrative)

(disembodied)

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(self-expression)

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 310

⁽²⁾ Ibid p 312.

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 314

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 315.

⁽⁵⁾ Arat, Yesim (2005), **Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics**, p 7

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(Ludeig Wittgenstein)

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⁽³⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, p 144.

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⁽¹⁾ Rawls, John (1971), *A Theory of Justice*, p 225,226

⁽²⁾ *Ibid*, p 233.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 358, 359.

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.(Joseph Schumpeter)

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⁽⁴⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p 46, 47.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 121

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⁽²⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 49

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⁽⁴⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 64, 65

80 79

⁽⁶⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p, 98

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid, p, 107

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 119

⁽²⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (2006), **On Political Equality**, pp 51.

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p, 54,55

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p,56.52

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⁽¹⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (2006), **On Political Equality**, pp 59.

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⁽⁴⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p 69,70

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(Joseph Schumpeter)

(3) (A competitive bidding for vote)

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(candidature)

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(1) Sorensen, George (1998), **Democracy and Democratization, Processes and Prospects in a Changing World**, p 12

(2) Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 97

(3) Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p6

(4) Rawls, John (1971), **A Theory of Justice**, p 228

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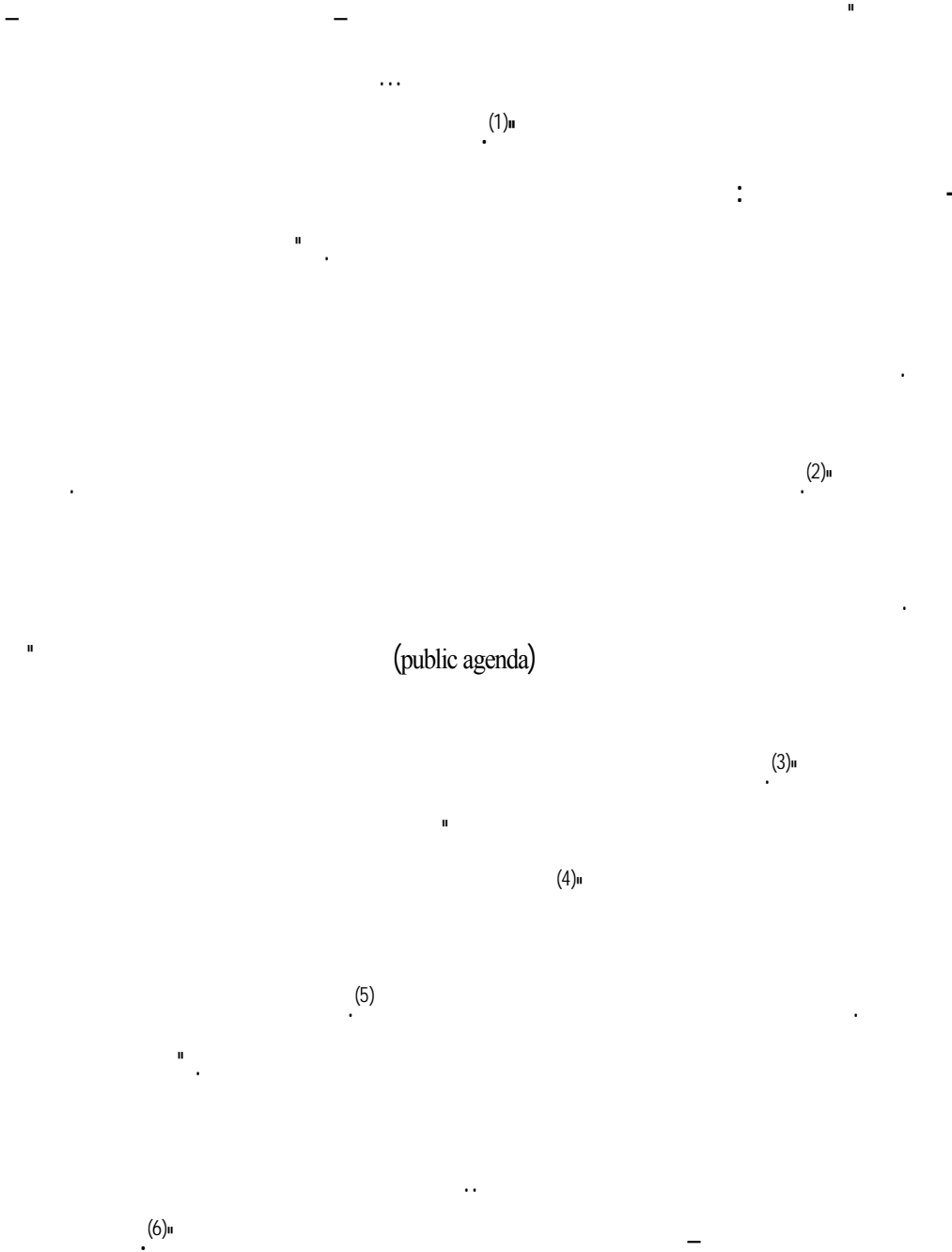
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⁽¹⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (2006), **On Political Equality**, p 54, 55.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, 86

⁽³⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 97, 98

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⁽⁵⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 304.

⁽⁶⁾ Diamond, Larry and Plattner, Daniel (2003), Introduction, p xiv

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(public deliberation)

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⁽¹⁾ Kubba, Laith (2003), *The Awakening of Civil Society*, p 32

⁽²⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), *Liberation Technology*, p 71, 72.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 74.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p 75.

(filtering and surveillance)

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(1) Ibid, p 80,81

(2) Ibid, p 82.

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(4) Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p 45.

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(1) Hughes, Ray Osgeed (1965), **Building Citizenship**, p 18
 (2) Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 95
 (3) Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 73
 (4) *Ibid*, p 75.
 (5) *Ibid*, p 76.
 (6) *Ibid*, p 89, 90.
 (7) *Ibid*, p 92.
 (8) *Ibid*, p 110.

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 139, 140

⁽²⁾ Powell, G. Bingham (1982), *Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence*, p 111, 112.

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⁽⁵⁾ Powell, G. Bingham (1982), *Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence*, p 132

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(1) Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 309.

(2) Diamond, Larry and Plattner, Daniel (2003), Introduction, p 46

(3) Deibert, Ronald and Rohozinski, Rafal (2010), Liberation VS. Control: The Future Of Cyberspace, p 53.

(4) Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 23, 24, 25.

(5) Sharansky Natan and Dermer, Ron (2004), **The Case For Democracy, The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror**, New York: Public Affairs, p 74

(6) Diamond, Larry (2010), Why Are There No Arab Democracies?, p 99, 100.

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 100

⁽²⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 53, 54.

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⁽¹⁾ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p 69, 70.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 93.

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 121.

⁽⁵⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 100, 101.

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⁽⁴⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy*, p 133

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(1) Ibid, p 165.

(2) Ibid, p 287.

(3) Ibid, p 300

(4) Ibid, p 303.

(5) Ibid, p, 308, 309,



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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p, 310

⁽²⁾ Ibid, 313

⁽³⁾ Ferree, Myra, et.al. (2002), Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies, , p 292, 293.

⁽⁵⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), Liberation Technology, p 70, 71 .

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid, p 76

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid, p 78

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⁽¹⁾ Deibert, Ronald and Rohozinski, Rafal (2010), Liberation VS. Control: The Future Of Cyberspace, p 50, 51, 52, 53.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 56

⁽³⁾ Ferree, Myra, et.al. (2002), Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies, p 294

⁽⁴⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 313

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⁽³⁾ Zafar, S. M. (1998), *Accountability, Parliament, and Ijtihad*, p 67

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p 72

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⁽¹⁾ Rawls, John (1971), **A Theory of Justice**, p 356

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⁽³⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (2006), **On Political Equality**, p 17

⁽⁴⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 50

⁽⁵⁾ Thorsan, Thomas Landon (1962), **The Logic of Democracy**, p 48

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⁽⁶⁾ Powell, G. Bingham (1982), *Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence*, p 222.

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⁽²⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, p167, 168

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 178

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p 185

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p 204

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(1) Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 206, 207
 (2) Ibid, p 209
 (3) Thorsan, Thomas Landon (1962), **The Logic of Democracy**, p 8.
 (4) Ibid, p 153
 (5) Ibid, p 158, 159
 (6) Ibid, p 162

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⁶ Hamdi, Mohamed, E. (1998), **The Making of An Islamic Political Leader**: Conversation with Hasan Al-Turabi, p 46

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⁽¹⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy*, p 79
⁽²⁾ *Ibid*, p 98, 99, 100.

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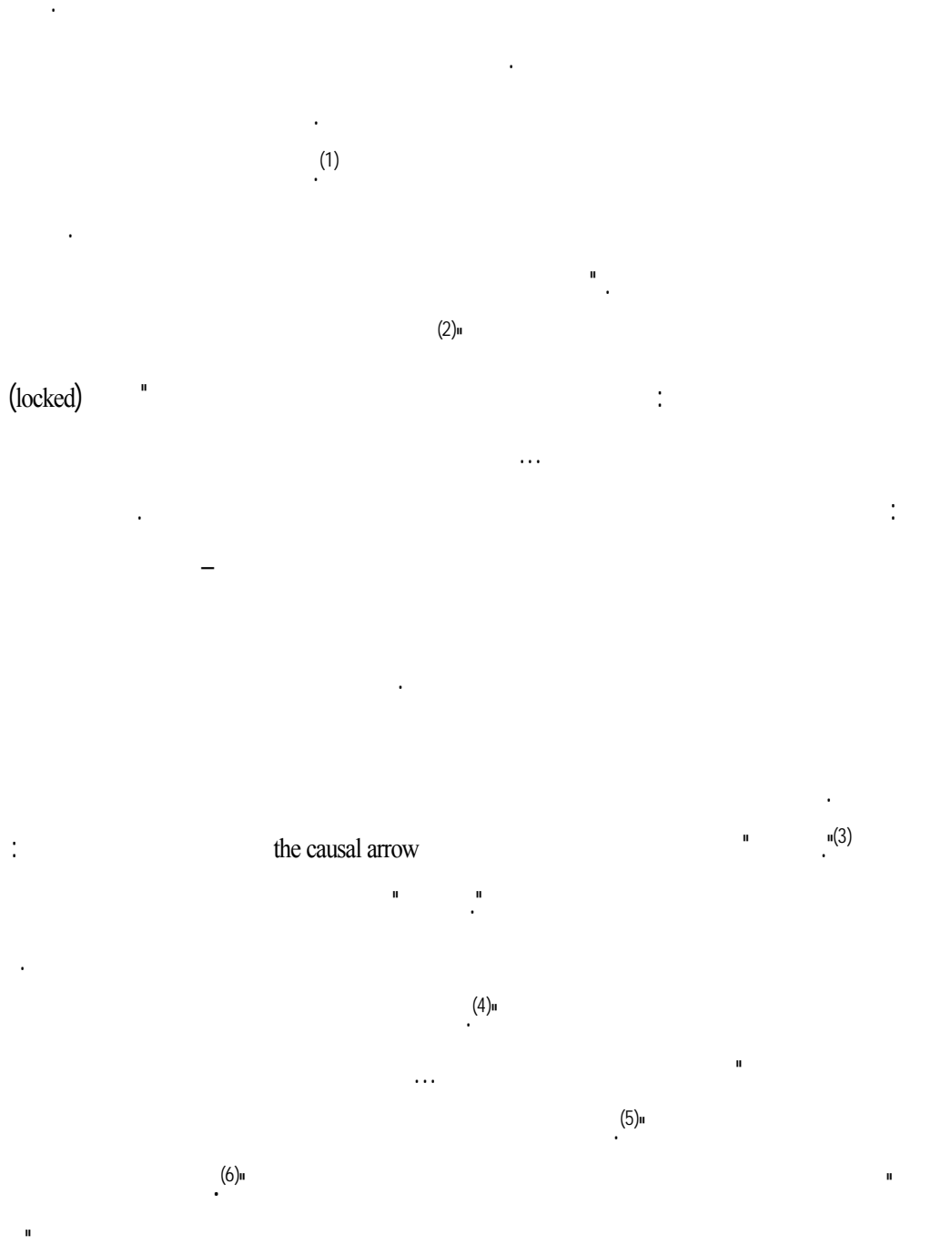
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(1) Huntington, Samuel,(1993), **The Third Wave in the Late Twentieth Century**, P 64, 65.
 (2) Ibid, p 66.
 (3) Ibid, p 67
 (4) Ibid,p 68.
 (5) Ibid,p 69.



⁽¹⁾ Dahl, Robert A. (1998), **On Democracy**, p 166, 167, 168.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 171.

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 173, 174.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 179.

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⁽⁷⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 101, 102.

⁽⁸⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), *Liberation Technology*, p 71

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⁽³⁾ Sharansky Natan and Dermer, Ron (2004), **The Case For Democracy, The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror**, p xvii

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⁽⁷⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 114

⁽⁸⁾ Ibid, p 116

⁽⁹⁾ Ibid, p 131

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⁽¹⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 302

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⁽³⁾ GolMohammad, Muna (2004), World Citizenship, Identity and The Notion Of An Integrated Self, p 146

⁽⁴⁾ Hawthome, Amy (2005), Is Civil Society The Answer?, p 102

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⁽²⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 234

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 236

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 176

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 178

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⁽¹⁾ Sartori, Giovanni (1976), **Democratic Theory**, p165

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 175.

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 183.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p442

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⁽¹⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, p 110.

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⁽³⁾ Kurzman, Charles and Naqvi, Ijlal (2010), Do Muslims Vote Islamic?, p 51.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid., p 61

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⁽⁴⁾ Arat, Yesim (2005), *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics*, p 2

(1)(individualistic and communitarian)

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(1) Ibid ,p 10.
 (2) Ibid ,p 13.
 (3) Ibid ,p 103.
 (4) Ibid ,p 109.
 (5) Ibid ,p 112.

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⁽⁶⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy*, p 35
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 (2) Murphy, Robert F.(1972), **The Dialectics of Social Life, Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory**, p 148
 .130 129 : (1994) (s)
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 (6) Murphy, Robert F.(1972), **The Dialectics of Social Life, Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory**, p 34 , 35.

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 52.

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 187, 188.

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 205.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 219.

⁽⁵⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 246

⁽⁷⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), **An Introduction to Democratic Theory**, p 270

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(living organism)

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(1) Dahl, Robert A., (1970), **Modern Political Analysis**, p10
 (2) 15 Ibid, p
 (3) Dahl, Robert A. (2006), **On Political Equality**, p 42
 (4) Ibid, p 44
 (5) Ibid, p 47
 (6) Ibid, p 48

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⁽¹⁾ Rawls, John (1971), **A Theory of Justice**, p 84

⁽²⁾ *Ibid*, p 102

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 568

⁽⁴⁾ Stekelenburg, Jacquelin Van and Klandermans, Bert (2007), Individuals in Movements , A Social Psychology of Contention, In: Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband (editors) **Handbook of Social Movement Across Dicipline**, New York: Springer Science and Bussiness Meida LLC, p 157

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p 158

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid*, p 162

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid*, p 163

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid*, p 164

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(cognition)

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(1) Ibid, p 165
 (2) Ibid, p 166
 (3) Ibid, p 167
 (4) Ibid, p 169
 (5) Ibid, p 170
 (6) Ibid, p 171, 172
 (7) Ibid, p 175

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(1) Ibid, p 176
 (2) Ibid, p 177, 178
 (3) Ibid, p 179
 (4) Ibid, p 181
 (5) Ibid, p 183
 (6) Ibid, p 184
 (7) Ibid, p 185
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⁽³⁾ Arat, Yesim (2005), **Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics**, p111

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid , p 112

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid , p 113

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid , p 115

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⁽⁷⁾ Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1997), Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres, p 510

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⁽¹⁾ Kurzman, Charles and Naqvi, Ijlal (2010), Do Muslims Vote Islamic?, p 50, 51

⁽²⁾ Ibid, p 52, 53

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 56,57

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, p 57

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid, p 58, 59

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 59, 60

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⁽⁸⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 277

(the World Values Survey)

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⁽¹⁾ Kurzman, Charles and Naqvi, Ijlal (2010), Do Muslims Vote Islamic?, 61

⁽²⁾ Hawthorne, Amy (2005), Is Civil Society The Answer?, p 94

⁽³⁾ Ibid , p 95

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(Richard. J. Neuhaus)

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⁽³⁾Ferree, Myra, et.al. (2002), Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies, p 289.

⁽⁴⁾Ibid, p 291,292

⁽⁵⁾Ibid, p 295

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(overlapping networks)

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(respatialization)

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⁽¹⁾ Ibid, p 306

⁽²⁾ Jenlink, Patrick M. (2007), *Creating Public Spaces and Practiced places for Democracy, Discourse, and The Emergence of Civil Society*, p 430

⁽³⁾ Ibid, p 431, 432

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(communal)

⁽¹⁾Ibid., p 433
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(pacifist manner)

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(Bertrand Badie)

⁽¹⁾ Etzioni, Amitai (1971), **The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and political Processes**, London : Collier-Macmillan Limited , New York: The Free Press, p 388

⁽²⁾ Sorensen, George (1998), **Democracy and Democratization, Processes and Prospects in a Changing World**, p 57

⁽³⁾ Ibid , p 57,58

⁽⁴⁾ Arat, Yesim (2005), **Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy, Islamist Women in Turkish Politics**, p 39 ,41

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid ,p 45 ,46

⁽⁶⁾ Ibid ,p 47

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid ,p 48

⁽⁸⁾ Ibid ,p 81

⁽⁹⁾ Ibid ,p 83 , 84

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⁽³⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), Liberation Technology, p 70

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(1) Ibid, p 78

(2) Ibid, p 79

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⁽¹⁾ Diamond, Larry (2010), Why Are There No Arab Democracies?, p 102, 103

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⁽²⁾ Powell, G. Bingham (1982), *Contemporary Democracies, participation, Stability, and Violence*, p 37

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 42

(transformation)

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⁽¹⁾Stekelenburg, Jacquelin Van and Klandermans, Bert (2007), Individuals in Movements, A Social Psychology of Contention, p 189 , 190
⁽²⁾Ibid, p 191
⁽³⁾Ibid, p 192

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⁽³⁾ Sorensen, George (1998), **Democracy and Democratization, Processes and Prospects in a Changing World**, p 41.

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(1) Sorensen, George (1998), **Democracy and Democratization, Processes and Prospects in a Changing World**, p 44

(2) Ibid , p 44

(3) Ibid , p 45

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⁽³⁾ Padover, Saul K., (1965), *The Meaning of Democracy: An Appraisal of the American Experience*, p 83.

⁽⁴⁾ Dahl, Robert A., (1970), *Modern Political Analysis*, p 81

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⁽²⁾ Mayo, H. B., (1969), *An Introduction to Democratic Theory*, , p 262.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p 263

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p 265

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p,267, 268

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid*, p 271

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⁶⁾ Diamond, Larry (2003), Liberation Technology , p 73.
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⁽⁵⁾ Etzioni, Amitai (1971), *The Active Society*, 510.

⁽⁶⁾ Murphy, Robert F. (1972), *The Dialectics of Social Life, Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory*, p 72,73.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid*, p 75,76

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid*, p 77

⁽⁹⁾ *Ibid*, p 79

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⁽¹⁾Ibid, p85

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⁽³⁾ Etzioni, Amitai (1971), **The Active Society**, p 507.
⁽⁴⁾ Ibid, 512
⁽⁵⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 297.

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⁽⁶⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), **The Spirit of Democracy**, p 300
⁽⁷⁾ Etzioni, Amitai (1971) **The Active Society** ,p 637.
⁽⁸⁾ Ibid ,p 638
⁽⁹⁾ Dahl, Robert A., (1970), **Modern Political Analysis**, p 81
⁽¹⁰⁾ Ibid , p 85

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⁽⁶⁾ Diamond, Larry (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy*, p35

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid*, p 35

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(1) Mckinnon, Cariona (2007), Democracy, Equality And Toleration. **The Journal of Ethics**, 11, p 126.

(2) Ibid , p 127

(3) Ibid , p 128

(4) Ibid , p 129

(5) Ibid , p 141.

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⁽³⁾ Murphy, Robert F.(1972), **The Dialectics of Social Life**, Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory, p 231 .

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid , p 232.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid , p 241

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⁽¹⁾Etzioni, Amitai (1971), **The Active Society**, p 511

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Democracy in the Contemporary Arab Thought

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Abstract

This study aims to reconsider the way of introducing democracy in the Arab World based on theoretical and philosophical principles that rely on the belief in human being reasoning ability to find solutions to practical problems, which face the people through collective efforts and cooperation, and considering the tradition of the philosophical reasoning in the public life as a pre-condition for democracy.

The concept of democracy is associated with freedom and human rights, and requires a social change based on philosophical and cultural principles, which lead to adopt new laws and create new organizations.

This study attempts to treat the role of the state in the Arab World, individualism, pluralism and human progress. Individualism, pluralism and tolerance are political principles necessary as pre-conditions for democracy.

What distinguishes this study that it is an attempt to achieve constitutional democracy that regulates authority in order to protect the private sphere of individuals and to rebuild the public sphere by encouraging those individuals to actively participate in the social and political issues that ease co-existence and make the social change possible.

It was asserted that freedom of thought and freedom of speech enhance the creativity and innovation of human beings. Government should be, if it is to be

democratic, committed to its ultimate goals, i.e. achieving justice.

In this study, main thoughts of many contemporary prominent Arab thinkers on democratization have been analysed their consistency has been discussed and their basic philosophical ideas and ideologies have been explained.

The first chapter, is an analyzation of the philosophical preconditions of liberal democracy and how Arab scholars and thinkers understood and employed it, and an explanation of whether their ideas conform with the philosophical basics of democracy.

In the second chapter, a discussion of the most important institutional and legal foundations of democracy, such as: elections, freedom, alternative resources of information and social and economical development. The way Arab scholars and thinkers took these foundations and how they tried to employ them in a different context has been reconsidered.

In the third chapter, core concepts, namely democracy, secularism and Shura, have been explained and democracy and secularism, inter relation has been tackled, and a clear image of the relationship between the democratic state and religion has been presented. In order to explain the concepts of democracy and Shura, the function of religion and its role in a changing modern society and shura as a political principle have been examined.

In the last chapter, the concept of mobilization, democratic integration, education, tolerance, mutual respect has been utilised. The role of the Internet and its applications as a liberation technology and its role in expanding the political sphere, and facilitate huge mobilizations to reform the Arab political and social status towards a democratic socio-political system.